

AMERICA

Billions for Britain?

RICHARD E. MULCAHY

The Yanks in Tokyo

PETER J. HERZOG

Why Social Security?

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS



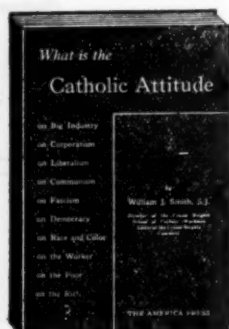
The Real Woman Today . . . *John Courtney Murray*

Catholic Book Week *Harold C. Gardiner*

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Published this week



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THIS WEEK'S QUESTION

**DO WE WANT MILITARY
TRAINING — PEACE TIME,
COMPULSORY, PERMANENT?**

The President told the Joint Session last week: "Even from those who are loudest in their opposition to universal training, there has come no other suggestion to furnish the protection and security which we must have—nothing but pious hopes and dangerous wishful thinking. I urge that the Congress pass this legislation promptly."

But there is no wishful thinking in

**CONSCRIPTION
IS NOT THE
AMERICAN WAY**

*A Group Discussion
by Catholic Educators*

The President said: "Universal military training is not conscription. The opponents of training have labeled it conscription, and by so doing have confused the minds of some of our citizens. Conscription is compulsory service in the Army or Navy in time of peace or war. Trainees under this proposed legislation, however, would not be enrolled in any of the armed services. They would be civilians in training."

But eleven faculty members of John Carroll University find, after discussing all the pros and cons, that the proposed measure is futile, undemocratic, costly and dangerous.

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AN AMERICA PRESS PUBLICATION

COMMENT ON THE WEEK

Behind the French Vote. The morning the outcome of the French elections became known, the *Daily Worker* ran a big headline announcing a Communist triumph. Those who believe everything they read, even in the *Daily Worker*, had every reason to be frightened. A Communist triumph in France would place Stalin astride the British Channel. It would mean the death of liberty and democracy and religion, of all the values that give life a meaning and make it worthwhile, all over Europe. But the truth was otherwise. Although the Communists won more seats in the temporary Constituent Assembly than any other party, they really suffered a crushing and humiliating defeat. The real issues in the election were General de Gaulle and his domestic and foreign policies, and the combined vote of the two parties supporting him—the Socialists and the *Mouvement Republicain Populaire* (MRP)—easily gave him commanding control of the Assembly. Of the 586 Assembly seats, with returns from parts of the Empire still incomplete, the Communists have 152, the Socialists 151, the MRP 138, and the rest are scattered among the Radical Socialists and various moderate and Right-wing groups. In reshuffling his Cabinet to conform with these results, de Gaulle will probably give some representation to the Communists, but in the event that they adopt an obstructionist line and attempt to nullify this clear expression of French opinion, he can oust them and govern with the sole support of the MRP and the Socialists.

De Gaulle's Program. At the same time that French voters elected an Assembly, they decided two crucial constitutional issues. By an overwhelming majority, they gave the Assembly powers to draw up a new constitution to replace that of 1875. By a lesser majority they agreed with General de Gaulle—and disagreed with the Communists—that the new Assembly should not have unlimited powers, during its seven months of life, to embark on "arbitrary and adventurous" moves. This means substantially that: 1) the voters want greater power in the hands of the Executive and more stability in their postwar governments than prevailed under the old Constitution; and 2) they want "something new but something reasonable," not sterile and terroristic revolution according to the fascist Moscow pattern. In the foreign sphere the election results, barring an unexpected shift in Socialist policy,

foreshadow closer ties with Britain and the West and a more independent position *vis-a-vis* Russia. Thus, whether the boys and girls at the *Daily Worker* realize it or not, what happened in France a week ago Sunday constitutes a sharp and effective check both to Soviet imperialism and the spread of dictatorship in Europe. Stalin knows now that he can continue to fashion an Eastern bloc in Europe *only at the risk of creating a Western bloc to counterbalance it*. If this salutary development leads him to take his commitments at Yalta and elsewhere more seriously, the cause of world peace will have been greatly strengthened.

Tax Relief. Working with understandable zest and dispatch—this is the first time in sixteen years a Congress has had a chance to reduce taxes—Senate and House conferees will probably reach agreement on a compromise tax bill before this issue of AMERICA reaches subscribers. Originally the Treasury recommended a bill reducing taxes slightly more than \$5 billion, the reduction being about equally divided between individuals and

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corporations. The House went about \$200 million beyond this and gave individuals a better break than corporations. With scant regard for Secretary Vinson's warning that any cut beyond \$5 billion would be dangerous, the Senate outdid the House and voted reductions totaling \$5.788 billion. More favorable to corporations than the House measure, the Senate bill is less generous to individuals. Both Houses agreed with Mr. Vinson's recommendation that twelve million little taxpayers be removed from the rolls. In the final analysis the only substantial differences between House and Senate concern excise taxes and the corporation excess-profits tax. The House wants to remove all wartime excise taxes as of July 1; the Senate to keep them indefinitely. In the Senate bill, the excess-profits tax is abolished; in the House bill it is only reduced. The reason for these differences is possibly more political than fiscal, all the members of the House coming up for election next year, whereas only one-third of the Senate has to face the electorate.

Now "The United Nations." With the formal depositing by the Soviet Union of its ratification, the Charter of the United Nations came into force on October 24. In issuing the protocol declaring this fact, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes pointed to the international legal obligations incurred by the Members. "The United Nations Charter," he said, "is now part of the law of Nations." It is a step forward toward the establishment of an ever-increasing juridical international order. Against the background of increasing tension among the major Powers since the breakdown of the London Conference, which belies the sentiments of harmony and repudiation of force emphasized in the Charter, Mr. Byrnes took occasion to recall that the basic condition of peace is the will to peace. He said: "The maintenance of peace depends not on any document, but upon what is in the minds and hearts of men." In the United Nations this will to peace finds its external organization. On the same October 24, at the London meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission, progress was momentarily stalled by a flare-up between the Soviet and Australian delegates over the rights of the General Assembly and its independence of the Security Council. It was expected, however, that despite this feud, which began at San Francisco between Molotoff and Herbert Vere Evatt, the Preparatory Commission could meet early in November to approve the work of its executive committee. The Commission will thereupon call the first meeting of the General Assembly to get along

with formal organization. This meeting may take place at London in early December. The action of the Soviet Union in depositing its ratification on October 24 does not strengthen rumors of a serious rift between the big Powers.

CED on Jobs. For three years the Committee for Economic Development has been stimulating employers to plan for high postwar levels of production and employment. Experience and research have now apparently convinced this group of businessmen that the private-enterprise system cannot do the job alone. Somehow or other the Federal Government must enter the picture and, so far as the CED is concerned, the only question worth debating today is not whether the State should intervene positively in economic affairs, but the nature and extent of such intervention. Not prepared as yet to support pending legislation, which would make the Government ultimately responsible for full employment, the CED has offered an alternative proposal which, if scarcely adequate, is in sharp and refreshing contrast to the reactionary stand of such groups as the Committee for Constitutional Government and the National Association of Manufacturers. It wants Congress and the President to affirm that achieving high levels of production and employment, within a free-enterprise system, is a major goal for national policy. To effectuate this, it suggests that two bodies be created, a Congressional Committee on full employment and a President's Commission, to develop a coordinated Government program. This would include removal of restrictions on competition and on the establishment of new and small businesses, tax policies favorable to expansion and employment, intelligent planning of public works, large extension and liberalization of Social Security benefits, extension of unemployment compensation to the entire working population, etc. As the days go on, it will be interesting to watch how much support for these rather mild proposals the CED can rally among rank-and-file businessmen.

World Food Policy. The meeting of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization at Quebec reminds us that a condition of peace and security between and within nations is a more equitable sharing of the world's resources from farm and forest. War has brought to the fore the dangers to health, morals and public order of starvation diets in large sections of Europe. It is regrettably true that even in peacetime approximately two-thirds of the world's population exists on a deficient diet. Malnutrition can result

from ignorance and poor dietary habits, but usually it is traceable to sheer inability to secure nourishing food in sufficient quantity and variety. Poor transportation, storage and distribution, monopolistic practices, limited land resources, faulty cultivation are some of the reasons for food shortages. Climate is also an important factor. FAO, through research, educational programs, sharing of information, hopes to change the food picture from one of scarcity to abundance. More international cooperation on food supplies and production and a broader view on the problem of surpluses should be the outcome of this organization. A committee on the marketing of commodities on an international scale is of particular importance. While the United States tended to take a narrow view of surpluses, seeing in them primarily a threat to domestic prices, many delegates challenged the whole theory of restricted production in the light of international food requirements. The Honorable David Wilson, of New Zealand, expressed a prevailing opinion: "Never again should farmers be paid not to produce. But, on the contrary, while fear of hunger and want persists we must do everything in our power to remedy the present state of affairs which will inevitably lead to unrest, turmoil and war if not rectified." Right-minded men will agree with him that this is the function of FAO.

Family Allowances. Characteristic of highly industrialized nations is their declining birthrate. One of the prices they seem to pay for mechanical efficiency is a breakdown of home and family life. While no single reason can be assigned for this phenomenon, an important contributing factor is that children tend to be economic liabilities in modern urban life. With higher standards of living and advanced educational requirements, the parents of the large family find themselves saddled with an impossible burden. In recent years governments have come to recognize the situation for what it is—a threat to the physical and moral health of a nation. The picture is further complicated by the fact that 84 per cent of all children under 16 are dependent on only 19 per cent of the gainfully employed. Family allowances are a partial solution to the problem. By them the generally valid principle of the living wage is modified to the extent of providing extra assistance for families with children. The more numerous the children the greater the assistance. Were employers compelled to pay more to workers with families, discrimination would result. If a living wage is taken to mean a minimum rate, regardless of dependents, for all gainfully employed, some in-

equity seems to result. In either case the children suffer and a premium is put upon small families. Before adjourning last June, the British Parliament passed a Family Allowances Act, slightly different from the Canadian Act which became effective July 1, 1945. Other countries have similar laws. With the American birthrate again headed for pre-war low levels, the question of family allowances will be given more serious attention as time goes on.

Job for Pegler. On October 24 one Thomas M. Gorman, former assistant Eastern division sales manager for the Browne-Vintners Company, pleaded guilty in Federal Court in New York to charges of collecting \$500,000 in over-the-ceiling prices on sales of liquor. (The Company was not implicated.) He also admitted evading \$701,258 in income taxes for 1943. Described by the prosecutor as "the largest individual black-market operator in the United States," Gorman will pay the penalty for his unpatriotic greed. But there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other businessmen in the country who indulged in similar black-market operations and have so far escaped detection. What a journalistic gold mine for a fearless investigator like Mr. Pegler! Having kept his inquisitorial spotlight for the past several years steadily on labor leaders—the same two dozen of them over and over again—perhaps a shift to business racketeers, who have made poor old George Spelvin and his woman pay through the nose for their Saturday night tipple, and for other more important things, would brighten a jaded, but still very readable style. How about it, Westbrook?

Religious Liberty in Poland. On October 24th, Mr. Wincenty Rzymowski, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Warsaw government, betrayed his concern over what he called "errors" in recent dispatches about Poland, notably in two by Mr. Gladwin Hill of the *New York Times*. The *Times* itself, in its report of the interview with Mr. Rzymowski, gives evidence for believing that Mr. Hill's accounts were, on the points challenged, substantially accurate. And there is every reason to accept his other details as likewise accurate. None of them, to say the least, adds any lines to the portrait, which some are trying to assemble, of the Warsaw government as the protagonist of liberty in Poland. In his interview, Mr. Rzymowski tries to sketch in some of the missing lines; but his brush is too heavy. As quoted in the *Times*, he declared "that 'essential liberties' granted in many other countries more than 100 years ago were being 'introduced just now' into Poland. In

1939, he recalled, there was no freedom of religion, for example, because all other faiths were 'stamped out' by the 'ruling Catholic Church.' "We welcome, of course, Mr. Rzymowski's assurance that the Warsaw government is determined to see that religious liberty is guaranteed by constitutional law, and that anti-Semitism is legally outlawed in present-day Poland. But his manner of statement has the strength of most of the acts of the Warsaw government—too much strength.

What of the Past? Dr. M. Searle Bates (*Religious Liberty: An Inquiry*, p. 107) says of the pre-War Polish Constitution: "The constitutional provisions indicated full and equal religious opportunity for all, with primacy of prestige for Catholicism as the religion of the great majority." At that time, there were no legal disabilities imposed for religious belief; a Jewish Rabbi, for instance, sat in the Polish Senate. Polish history, of course, is not devoid of incidents involving violations of religious liberty; neither is American history. But the monstrous assumption that the Warsaw government, presumably at the behest of Premier Stalin, is "just now" bringing religious liberty into Poland must not be allowed currency. Again, if the fact were well known that Mr. Rzymowski not only is a notorious anti-Catholic but also was publicly denounced as a "personal enemy of God," the public would have at hand salt to savor his references to the "ruling Catholic Church" which "stamped out" all other faiths. Incidentally, not the least of Mr. Rzymowski's distinctions (apart from his support of the pre-War Polish government, now denounced as "Fascist") is the fact that he was expelled from the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences for plagiarism. He has apparently recovered from this literary vice; for now, when he would voice the sentiments of the Polish people, as he does in his interview, he puts them in quotation marks. The quotation is from Marshal Stalin.

Palestine. Ibn Saud, writing to the late President Roosevelt, remarked that when the British took over Palestine in 1917 there were only about

80,000 Jews in the country. This figure and that year are important for understanding the bitter controversy that has developed around the Holy Land. In the first Palestinian census under British auspices 752,048 persons were counted—about 10 per cent of them Jews. December 31, 1943, saw 1,676,571 persons occupying the 10,429 square miles of a mandated state slightly larger than Maryland. Breakdown figures reveal 1,028,715 Moslems; 502,912 Jews, and 131,281 Christians; a total increase in population of over 50 per cent in less than 25 years. November 2, 1917, is the date of the Balfour Declaration which shaped a policy by stating: "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national homeland for the Jewish people." In 1930 a White Paper announced immigration must be suspended so long as no agricultural land was available for settlers; in 1933 Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister restated the original policy of a National Home for Jews. A later White Paper, in 1939, introduced further confusion by sharply limiting the number of immigrants. Since that time thousands of Jewish refugees have hammered on the doors of Palestine. Recent figures indicate that a not inconsiderable number came in through back doors. No one, including the Arabs, denies that the refugee Jews need a shelter. Serious consultation between the Arabs, Great Britain and the United States—since we have injected ourselves into the controversy—is called for. The forcible establishment of a Jewish State, without Arab consent, is inviting serious trouble.

The Holy Souls. The Church celebrates her Requiem Mass in black, the color of mourning. For the Church is, in every respect, a community wherein all things are common. If one member sorrows, all the members sorrow with it. And the priest vested in black is the symbol of the community mourning with those into whose lives death has brought grief. Nevertheless, Requiem Mass is still the Eucharistic Sacrifice. That is, it is a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. It is well to remember this. Surely it is most fitting that, as we join with the priest during November in offering the Heavenly Victim, there should be praise and thanksgiving in our hearts. Praise of God our Father that in His infinite love He has not cut us off from "those who have gone before us," but has left us in communion with them, in the community of grace. Thanksgiving to God our Father that He has put into the hands of His Church—our hands—a power to reach across the gulf of death, and to help in active, efficacious fashion those "who sleep in the sleep of peace."

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WASHINGTON FRONT

Observers in Washington and, no doubt—perhaps to a lesser degree—others elsewhere, saw in President Truman's message on universal military training more than appeared on the surface.

It was obviously a carefully-thought-out document, designed to take care, as far as possible, of the contrary arguments advanced by labor, education and religious leaders at the unofficial hearings two months ago.

It was its timing, however, which especially impressed Washington, which is so sensitive to such things. It came at just the proper interval after General Marshall's report, which had such a good press and such a wide circulation. But it particularly coincided with the present distant treatment we are dealing out to Russia. It was certainly intended to show that truculent country that we do not propose to be a pushover, and it used the one argument which Russia will understand.

But there was more than that. We can see now why the Army was so zealous to speed up demobilization ahead of schedule. People suddenly began to feel that we were throwing our defenses away in the face of danger. President Truman's proposals now seem to be a very moderate solution to this pressing problem, and it is certainly calculated that Congress, in a great feeling of relief, will pass the legislation with a rush.

There remains some doubt whether Congress and the country will swallow the President's insistence, echoed by most of the press, that this is "not conscription." One wonders if people will not be like the famous little boy who said: "You can call it broccoli, but I still say it's spinach." This rather amateurish attempt at semantics may well defeat its purpose. It would probably have been better not to bring up the hated word. We have had enough of Russia's giving arbitrary meanings to old and familiar words.

A half-dozen other obscurities and disingenuous hints will no doubt be cleared up before the bill is passed, if it is. What is as clear as crystal in the message is that the President does not see any immediate prospect of the United Nations Organization being a preserver of peace. His references to "relentlessly preserving our superiority on land and sea and air," to keeping "ahead in military preparedness" show this clearly.

The message obviously supposes others to come: preservation of our transport and sea-supply vessels, of a strong navy, air force and—who knows?—of our munitions factories. The race is on.

WILFRID PARSONS

UNDERSCORINGS

Pope Pius XII has named Bishop Joseph P. Hurley of St. Augustine, Fla., to be Regent *ad interim* of the Apostolic Nunciature in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. Prior to his elevation to the See of St. Augustine, Bishop Hurley rendered important services as a Vatican diplomat, particularly as Attaché of the Secretariate of State from 1934 to 1940. His present appointment to a major trouble spot in Europe is a testimony to the esteem and confidence reposed in him by the Holy See.

► In the *New York Times* of Oct. 25, a dispatch from London reported "great bitterness on the part of Marshall Tito's supporters [in Yugoslavia] over a pastoral letter circulated in the Roman Catholic districts by local Bishops opposing the existing Government and its [election] list." The Bishops share the attitude of British Foreign Minister Bevin that "we didn't fight this war in order to substitute one form of totalitarian dictatorship for another."

► In Saint Patrick's Cathedral, on Oct. 24, a crowd of 4,000 people, including Governor Dewey and other public officials, witnessed the elevation to the Episcopacy of Msgr. William A. Scully, formerly Secretary for Education of the Archdiocese of New York. Bishop Edmund Gibbons of Albany, whose Coadjutor Bishop Scully will become, acted as Consecrator, with Bishop Molloy of Brooklyn and Bishop McEntegart of Ogdensburg as co-Consecrators.

► Have labor unions the right to strike and to picket? Have they the right to engage in political action? To what extent should the churches actively cooperate with labor unions and labor leaders? These are some of the questions sent out to 60,000 ministers of various faiths by the Religion and Labor Foundation of New Haven, Conn. According to *Religious News Service*, 3,000 ballots were returned and, of these, 70 per cent upheld the right to strike and picket, 80 per cent favored political action by Labor, while 70 per cent were willing to conduct labor forums in church buildings.

► According to information from former Czechoslovak areas located in Soviet-dominated Carpatho-Russia, 63 Catholic priests have been ousted and their places taken by Eastern Orthodox clergymen.

► On Oct. 22, in Washington, D. C., the 1945 Laetare Medal was presented by Bishop McNamara, in the name of Notre Dame University, to G. Howland Shaw, former Assistant Secretary of State, for his work in juvenile-delinquency prevention.

R. E. T.

Billions for Britain?

RICHARD E. MULCAHY

When Great Britain hinted that she would need from two to six billion dollars as an interest-free loan or even as a "grant," the average American citizen was flabbergasted. Typical American reactions were: "What more do they want? . . . Didn't we give them enough in ten billion dollars of Lend-Lease? . . . What, all this and Heaven, too?"

Why did Britain make such a "preposterous" request? Are there any sound reasons why we should even consider it?

There is no mystery about why Britain is seeking an advance of a few billion dollars from the United States—she needs the dollars. During the war, before Lend-Lease became operative, England shipped her gold and sold her citizens' foreign investments to buy needed war materials, especially from the United States. And all during the war, whenever she bought from a nation that offered no Lend-Lease, she paid for materials in pounds sterling. Because of war conditions she could not redeem these sterling credits by the normal exportation of English goods—so today there are about \$14 billion of sterling credits held by India, Canada, Egypt and other nations, who are now anxious to be paid in goods.

British resources of gold and dollars have been somewhat replenished by the expenditures of American soldiers abroad and by gold produced in South African mines. But with Britain's current foreign deficit running at the rate of \$2 billion a year, these funds will soon be depleted, even if, as is likely, imports can be reduced to a certain extent. A more critical fact is that England's income from foreign investments and shipping commissions will now be below the pre-war level. In the 'thirties these investments and transport commissions, combined with insurance and banking commissions, were vital means whereby Britain balanced her excess imports with her exports. Today the annual income from foreign investments is estimated to be reduced from about a pre-war billion dollars to approximately half a billion. Shipping commissions will be reduced temporarily, because the British merchant fleet, from which the German submarines took a heavy toll, is now 27 per cent below the pre-war tonnage. And there may be increased competition from the expanded American merchant marine.

While Britain's ability to pay for her normal excess imports has been reduced, she must still continue to import in order to live. In a certain

sense this is literally true, for England normally imports sixty per cent of her food. In general it can be said that in the United States we primarily seek to export, and care about imports mainly so that other nations can pay for our exported goods; Britain primarily seeks to import and exports only to pay for what she buys.

England's need of billions of American dollars is clear; but it is not so evident why we should advance these billions. It cannot be because Britain's need is greater than that of other countries—Poland, China, France, Belgium, Greece have a lower standard of living than the English, and they too have suffered the ravages of war. Nor is it necessary that we give dollars to Britain so that we can export our surplus goods. Any country in the world will take our goods if we lend it the dollars to pay for them.

Why, then, should we even consider this unusual request for billions of American dollars? We must look not only at England's need, but also at her strength or, rather, importance. Britain, once the foremost proponent of free trade, has long been one of the keystones of world multi-lateral trade. Actually, she is the most important link in the complex exchange of goods between nations, for Britain normally buys one-third of the world's imports and sells one-fourth of the world's exports. A free-trade world without a free-trade England is impossible—as England goes, so goes world commercial policy.

But the British believe that under present conditions they cannot balance their imports and exports in a free-trade world. They claim that if there is no outside help they will be forced to resort to a sterling bloc with rigid exchange control, to make bilateral trade agreements and to use every type of Schachtian tactic in order to acquire and pay for their imports. Would there, then, be any chance of success for the American program advocating the reduction of international trade barriers?

These British claims are not mere threats to force us to advance billions of dollars; the commercial policy of the British has always been determined by their balance-of-trade position. Moreover, it is misleading to speak as if Britain were threatening to embark on a trade-restriction program; such a program has been and is now in effect. The truth of these statements can be seen from a cursory glance at British trade history.

England from the middle of the nineteenth century was the great free-trade nation of the world. Ever since 1776, when Adam Smith published his *Wealth of Nations*' plea for free trade, the remnants of mercantilism, the corn laws and the old navigation acts gradually disappeared from the English scene. By 1860 Britain could call herself an absolutely free-trade nation. But there is every reason to doubt that this came about because the English were intellectually convinced of the theoretical advantages of free trade. It probably was no mere coincidence that Britain assumed the role of free-trade advocate at the very time when her industrial plant was the largest and most efficient in the world, when her trading vessels dominated the seven seas and when her banking and insurance houses had the whole world as customers.

It was not until after World War I, when the United States became the number-one banker of the world, that there appeared general signs that British faith in free trade was weakening. In September, 1931, the financial world was shocked to hear Britain's announcement that she had abandoned the gold standard. In February, 1932, Parliament passed the Import Duties Act, which established a tariff wall around the British Isles. In June of the same year an official ban on foreign investing was imposed. Two months later, at Ottawa, a special trade agreement between the United Kingdom and the Dominions built a tariff wall around the Empire. The informal sterling bloc, composed of nations who tied their currencies to sterling rather than to gold, completed the British restrictions on free international trade. During the war the sterling bloc became the chief means of exchange control—the Exchange Pool Agreement.

Behind these financial moves was the depressing fact that England could no longer compete on equal terms with the other rising industrial nations. In the 'twenties her share of the total exports of manufactures by leading industrial nations fell from 26 per cent to 22 per cent. The root cause was, incidentally, that English industry was petrified; inefficiency was rampant and monopolies controlled production. For example, in a recent study of British industry as of 1935, it was shown that there were 33 trades in which more than seventy per cent of the output came from not more than three firms. This was ten years ago, and during the war industrial concentration increased. The inefficiency of the coal, steel and textile industries was the subject of recent investigations.

Thus, Britain imposed the trade restrictions of the 'thirties in order to protect her balance of

trade. Temporarily this gave her an advantage and improved her relative position; but at the same time it was working against Britain, for it meant a drop in world trade, from which she had and still has much to gain. But economic necessity, in the form of unemployment and excess imports, imposed this short-sighted policy. And today economic necessity will again impose this same short-sighted policy.

Why should we be concerned about a British policy of trade restrictions, even if it forces the whole world to adopt a similar course?

First of all, if Britain continues her present commercial policy, if the sterling bloc continues to operate as it has during the war, then the international market for the sale of American goods will be reduced. In the sterling bloc the nations use English pounds as their medium of exchange and pool their dollars, which are rationed to the member nations by the Bank of England. Thus dollar trade within the bloc is restricted to a necessary minimum. Such a condition is hardly compatible with the optimistic \$14 billion postwar export trade envisioned for the United States.

But the more important reason for concern is that the alternative to world multilateral trade is economic warfare. Once nations attempt to balance their trade accounts with each particular nation through bilateral trade agreements, form special trading blocs and resort to devaluation of their currency with no regard for the effects on other nations, then economic peace disappears and, in time, political peace.

It was the recognition of the evils of economic warfare that led the United States Government to campaign in the past twelve years for a lowering of trade barriers and for the restoration of general multilateral trade. This was the purpose of Cordell Hull's trade agreements. Nor was this goal forgotten when the Lend-Lease contracts were drawn up. Section VII of each contract contained a mutual promise binding the United States and the country receiving our war materials to adopt means in the postwar directed "to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." The Bretton Woods Agreement, as far as it could, sought this same goal; though it had to leave an interim period of five years when exchange controls would be free to operate.

If loaning Britain, say, four billion dollars will help achieve the goal of a rational free-trade world, is there any reason why we should not make the loan?

Representative Knutson of Minnesota opposes

aid to Britain on the grounds that we would be supporting a socialistic government which is inimical to our free-enterprise system. But this is a false issue. There is grave doubt whether the Labor government of England can be called "socialistic." Nationalization of certain industries, when there is a social need and when payment is made for the expropriated property, is not necessarily Socialism. Moreover, even if the Labor government is socialistic, the loan is not to support the Government, but to further world free trade, in which our private-enterprise system has a definite interest. The only sound basis on which the question of aid to Britain should be considered is the effect on economic peace throughout the world.

This does not mean, of course, that there are no difficulties. Certain problems must be faced by the American experts at the Anglo-American financial conference now in progress.

The first of these problems is: can we be sure that after the billions of dollars are spent, Britain will feel she is in a position to remove her restrictions on international trade? If we could not bargain the forgiveness of ten billion dollars of Lend-Lease against the removal of trade barriers, what guarantee have we that, a year or two from now, His Majesty's Government will not claim that it still is not in a position to adopt a free-trade policy? The answer to this may be that this "breather" will give England a chance to catch her economic breath; and thus with the good will, which I suppose is even now present, she will be able more closely to balance her exports and imports in a free-trading world. It should not be overlooked, as I have mentioned before, that as soon as Britain gets over her readjustment period it is to her best interest to strive for a rational free-trade world.

The solution to this first difficulty involves another problem: what voice will we have about how Britain spends the loan? The dollars are not delivered to specific British industries in need of reorganization; they are turned over to the Government. It may be that the Treasury will keep the dollars in the general fund and will exchange them to any trader who is in need of dollars. But we should receive some assurance that the money will be spent in remodeling British industry, so that a better balance of trade may be achieved. Also a voice in the matter of how England spends the money includes some say in how quickly the dollars are spent in the United States. If British traders attempt to buy \$4 billion of American goods in the next year, they might be taking from our home markets goods needed to check the inflationary forces that are now present in our econ-

omy. The dollars should be doled out to England over a period of time, with a view to both her needs and ours.

Another angle that should be explored by the American financial delegates is: what portion of the present British need is due merely to a shortage of dollars? The dollar shortage due to the fact that we will not buy enough British goods to provide dollars for their purchases here can be remedied without advancing dollars to Britain directly. To be concrete, if we loaned a billion dollars to China, with instructions that they be used for purchases from England, the dollars would eventually end up in the British exchange market. In this way China would be helped to reconstruct her war-torn economy and be enabled to embark on an industrialization program, and England at the same time would have solved in part her problem of a shortage of dollars. While some dollars to be spent here will probably be loaned to China—for there are many things we alone can supply—yet this "China-Britain" loan-method would reduce the total amount we would have to advance to Britain and China. A more fundamental remedy for this feature of the British dollar shortage is, of course, a lowering of our high tariff barriers.

The most serious difficulty that must be solved is Britain's claim that she cannot afford to pay the regular commercial interest on a loan—perhaps no interest at all can be paid. In the normal course of public finance this means the United States Government would have to borrow the money from the American public, for which it would have to pay interest. At current rates this would amount to \$100 million a year on a \$4 billion loan—to be borne by the American taxpayer. No greater stumbling block can be imagined to Congressional approval for aid to Britain.

To solve this problem my own suggestion would be this: why could we not exchange with England four billion dollars for one billion English pounds? (The pound is now quoted at \$4.) The four billion dollars would be issued in the form of greenbacks, authorized by Congress and backed by the English pounds. Many nations of the world use English pounds as a reserve equal to gold as backing for their national currencies. The greenbacks would be made legal tender, and would be redeemed by the United States Treasury only in Federal Reserve notes, as England paid off the loan with the dollars she acquired through normal trade channels.

The advantage to us of this method of financing aid to Britain is that no interest would have to be paid by the United States Government on the

money raised for the loan, and at the same time adequate backing would be available for the Government issue. Another advantage is that if in the future England attempted to restore trade restrictions, we would have one billion pounds to use as a concrete bargaining weapon to keep her in line. If this method had been employed in the Lend-Lease contracts, we should have a better bargaining position today. It is true that my suggestion is inflationary; but the ordinary method of financing the loan is also inflationary. The proposal is unusual; but unusual situations normally call for unusual solutions.

Finally, there are some who fear that the same favorable terms which we may offer to Britain will be demanded by the many other countries seeking American credits, especially Russia. There should be no trouble about this. We can simply state that more lenient terms were extended to the British, not because of their great need, but because of their importance in international trade. Russia, for example, is a negligible factor in world trade.

The presence of problems is no argument against offering aid to Britain. The importance of the goal—a rational, free multilateral trade—is great enough to ensure that with the good will of America and Britain adequate solutions can be found.

However the loan may be made, our aid to Britain must not be discussed in the petty terms of politics or anti-British feeling. The stakes are too high. Economic warfare, which easily leads to strained political relations, must be avoided. The war has given us a \$300 billion investment in world peace.

THE YANKS IN TOKYO: A FRONT-LINE VIEW

PETER J. HERZOG

(AMERICA offers this article as one observer's view of the occupation.—EDITOR.)

There is hardly any better observation post for studying the effects of the occupation on Japan than the Catholic University in Tokyo. We of the University are in constant touch with the Japanese, not only with the educated classes and the students of our University, but also, through our social work, with the laboring class. Moreover, our mission district comprises Hiroshima, the most thoroughly devastated city in the world. On the occasion of his recent Pacific tour, Archbishop

Spellman took time off to tell us of his experiences and his hopes. Day by day, Chaplains and doctors, officers and men drop in for information, for Mass, for a friendly talk. On that basis one might form some judgment of General MacArthur's occupation policy. Seeing the results, we can but say that it has been beyond praise.

For both sides the occupation turned out to be a big surprise. Panicky local authorities in the coastal area had ordered the wholesale evacuation of women and children—which was promptly countermanded by the Tokyo Government. Girls at school had been instructed to commit suicide when defiled by the invader. Women had been ordered not to go back to the kimono but to keep their war-time slacks. Groups of young pilots had been showering handbills on the capital: "The Air-Corps knows no surrender!"

The occupation came. Of course, there were no triumphal arches. There was an air of tenseness, but no hostility. General MacArthur had waited till the Japanese, through the authority of the Emperor, had got the unruly elements completely under control. Contrary to everyone's anticipation, there was no need to proclaim martial law—just a few traffic restrictions to ensure the smooth moving of the troops.

This absence of all extraordinary measures was in itself an invaluable factor in easing the high-strung nervousness of the situation. After three days, the Pfc knew that in this "hostile country" he could walk any place, any time, without arms, and he would be at least as safe as in his back yard at home. After five days the "cute Jap kids" were playing around the jeeps as the kids had done in Chungking and Saipan and Manila and wherever the Yanks had come.

The Yanks were puzzled at first. Was it hypocrisy, was it just a trick to ensnare them? Now they know that the common people had no reason for hypocrisy. The youngsters are not thinking of inveigling them when they make the "V" sign to "Joe." The occupation has been carried out without a hitch, in perfect order. This was due to almost anxious cooperation on the part of the Japanese, to MacArthur's personal qualities, his calm prudence and self-possessed patience, and to the fact that American troops did the job.

The first orders of the Supreme Commander came out. The Japanese had known beforehand that the occupation was not going to be a joke. But now they knew that their treatment would be just, and that there was going to be leadership. It was military leadership, but statesmanlike—sure of its goal, cautious in its measures, efficient in its execution. General MacArthur has won their con-

fidence. Not only the Government looks to him for guidance; so does business, so does the man in the street. Sometimes, if you try to convince people that they have to prepare for the hard winter to come, they look like puzzled children. Won't the Yanks take care of that? They'll know how to handle that situation!

If today you read a Japanese paper you scarcely trust your eyes. Is this really printed in Japan, circulating in Japan, to be read by Japanese? The rigidly controlled press of yesterday is well on its way to making a record for unbiased reporting and free discussion. Two days ago one of the greatest Tokyo dailies carried a front-page article by Lin Yutang, the Chinese writer, under the caption "Throw away this 'god-sent people' feeling!"

Most amazing is the changed attitude towards foreigners. Seven years of intense propaganda had taught the once-so-polite Japanese to suspect every foreigner of spying and to despise everything foreign as inferior. Schoolboys used to meet us with what Bishop Ross, S.J., once styled "an air of haughty defiance." English signboards had disappeared, no word of English could be spoken in public. All this has changed with unbelievable speed. Everyone who knows a few words of English seems to be regarded as a national asset. Preparations are being pushed everywhere to re-open English-language schools, to build up an American institute or to organize an American Culture Study Club. Foreigners seem to be entitled to preferential treatment by everybody.

How far American business is willing and able to profit by MacArthur's occupation policy we cannot tell, but he has succeeded in creating an atmosphere in which the cultural conquest of Japan by Americanism seems only a question of time. Thanks to MacArthur, America is on the way to win the peace in Japan.

Superfluous to add how favorable a turn the situation has taken for the Catholic missions, which always relied to a large extent on American and Canadian help. Mission societies working in Japan have petitioned their headquarters for as many priests and Sisters as can be assigned to the field, and as soon as they can be assigned to it. The stifled Catholic Mission in Japan has not only gained real freedom, but an opportunity unique since the days of Saint Francis Xavier. If we have General MacArthur and his GI's for the rest of the occupation, and help to rebuild and restaff our churches and schools, our hospitals and orphanages, the landing of MacArthur may well bring about what the landing of Saint Francis Xavier once promised—a Christian Japan.

THE REAL WOMAN TODAY

JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY

They say that women love to be told of their beauty and worth and dearness, their uniqueness, their needfulness, their supreme importance. If this be so, they have at least one reason for reading the address of Pius XII to the women of Italy, given on October 21. They will find in it a wealth of compliments, paid to what the Pope twice calls "the real woman." (I have no doubt that every woman considers herself just that—a "real" woman.) They will also find out what (I am told) every woman desires to know—that she is beloved; our Holy Father fills his address with "all the affection of a paternal heart."

His affection does not spend itself only in compliments, but also in the effort—which, I hope, every real woman will consider highly complimentary—to make Catholic women think. The subject of their thought is to be "a topic outstanding in interest and primary in importance in our times: it is women's duties in social and political life."

Our Holy Father's statement of the problem itself is initially noteworthy. He goes straight to its heart, "disregarding the high-sounding and empty slogans with which some people would describe the movement for women's rights." The problem, he says, "in spite of its complexity hinges entirely on the question, how to maintain and strengthen the dignity of woman," "that dignity which she has only from God and in God." Moreover, he refuses to take hold of the question simply in the abstract; the question is terribly concrete—how to secure the dignity of woman "especially today, in the circumstances in which Providence has placed us." These circumstances qualify the answer; and Pius XII blinks no one of them.

He brings forward no new principles of solution; he finds all he needs in the traditional wisdom of the Church. Briefly, he uses three principles. The first is the dignity of woman as child of God, by reason of which she is man's equal. The second is the dignity of woman as woman, by reason of which she is man's complement. The third is the seeming paradox, that woman preserves her equality with man by developing her differences from him, her "characteristic qualities," that make up her womanliness.

A woman is a woman, not a man (a truism somewhat obscured in this day of dungarees and hanging shirt-tails). She is not man's substitute or competitor, but his coordinate ally, his coequal collaborator in the one total work of humanity—

its own perfection, to be begun here on earth and perfected in Heaven. Neither man nor woman can do this work alone. In it, woman has an equal share with man, but her own share, not his.

Woman may do her work in several states—as wife and mother, as Religious within cloister walls, or as single “perforce” (the Pope’s word) in the world. These states are not equal in excellence, but all are equally “vocations,” calls of God to do His will. And all are calls to the one essential womanly function, which makes the unity amid their difference:

In both states alike [married and single] woman’s sphere is clearly outlined by qualities, temperament and gifts peculiar to her sex. She collaborates with man, but in a manner proper to herself, according to her natural bent. Now the sphere of woman, her manner of life, her native bent, is motherhood. Every woman is made to be a mother—a mother in the physical meaning of the word, or in the more spiritual and exalted, but no less real, sense. For this purpose the Creator organized the whole characteristic makeup of woman—her organic construction but even more her spirit, and above all her delicate sensitiveness.

Hence the woman’s “angle”:

Thus it is that a woman who is a real woman can see all the problems of human life only in the perspective of the family.

Up to this point, Pius XII has simply been uttering the traditional wisdom of the Church; now he becomes characteristically Pius XII. He brings traditional wisdom sharply to bear on the concrete world situation. He makes the truth a call to action: “Catholic women and girls, your day is here! Public life needs you. To each one of you it may be said: Your cause is at stake.”

Why? Because “a political and social order threatens to prejudice woman’s mission as mother, and the good of the family”; “it might even become still more precarious for the sanctity of the home and hence for woman’s dignity.” Two enemies are in the field: totalitarianism, which would make woman the slave of the State, in return for the State’s promise to care for her home and children; and materialistic capitalism, which would make woman the slave of economic necessity or selfish pleasure, while nobody cares for her home and children. Each enemy destroys the family by taking woman out of it.

What, then, is the solution? Shall we simply shout the slogan: Back to the home? This would be sheer reaction—an ignoring of facts; and Pius XII will have none of it:

As a matter of fact, woman is kept out of the home not only by her so-called emancipation but often too by the necessities of life, the continuous anxiety about bread. It would be useless, then, to preach to her to return to the home while conditions prevail which constrain her to remain away from it.

Moreover, again as a matter of fact, women to-day *are* being called into social and political, as well as into economic, life. The real solution, therefore, is: let women move into public life—the needs of the time and their own opportunities make this a strict duty. But let them take up a woman’s mission—the disabling of today’s threat to woman’s dignity, the creation of a social spirit and a social order in which home and family will be secure in their native holiness:

The fate of the family, the fate of human relations are at stake. They are in your hands. Every woman, then, has—mark it well—the obligation, the strict obligation in conscience, not to absent herself, but to go into action in a manner and way suitable to the condition of each, so as to hold back those currents which threaten the home, so as to oppose those doctrines which undermine its foundations, so as to prepare, organize and achieve its restoration.

Here is a high responsibility. And the severity with which it is imposed is a new note in papal documents. Still more new is what follows—Pius XII’s allocation of a special responsibility to those

... on whom unavoidable circumstances have bestowed a mysterious vocation, whom events have destined to solitude, which was not in their thoughts or desires, and which might seem to condemn them to a selfishly futile and aimless life.

Pius XII looks at the increasing number of women unmarried “perforce,” and at the “new needs created by the entry of women into civil and political life”; then he asks: “Is it just a strange coincidence, or are we to see in it the disposition of Divine Providence?” In his own mind, it is clearly the latter.

With striking concreteness, the Pope develops the two ways in which these women are to fulfil their mysterious and glorious vocation. The first has an element of newness: woman today has an intellectual and doctrinal mission—to “study and expound the place and role of woman in society, her rights and duties. . . .” She is “to direct ideas. . . .” The second is a mission of “direct action,” which is to be a true womanly collaboration with men because it will be carried out in spheres that are specifically woman’s own, where a woman’s heart and a woman’s “angle” are needed.

In what follows, the Pope issues a challenge to our schools. He says: “Thus understood, woman’s task cannot be improvised.” Women must be formed for it, intellectually and spiritually. Here, indeed, is matter for serious thought and careful planning.

The Pope concludes by emphasizing a principle to guide women in the “fulfillment of her strict duty in conscience,” to use the electoral ballot given to her: “A woman’s vote is a vote for peace.” Peace between social classes, peace between

nations—this is the intimate concern of woman; for she understands that war and social strife mean woman's tears over shattered homes.

A final word. Pius XII does not suppose that woman's role in society can be discharged simply by individual women in isolation from one another. They must be organized and united; only as a body will they be "the restorers of home, family and society." Here again is a matter for serious thought.

THE WHY OF SOCIAL SECURITY

WILLIAM J. GIBBONS

Misunderstanding of the aims and methods of social security—or social insurance, as it is sometimes called—seems to be behind much of the opposition it engenders. One source of opposition is, of course, that group of die-hard individualists whose laissez-faire principles of economics cause them to oppose practically every piece of social legislation introduced. Such critics stand in need of basic instruction on the rights of man, the ultimate purpose of economics, and the *de facto* maldistribution of wealth. Until their fundamental social education is completed, they are scarcely in a position to discuss intelligently particular measures for social reform. What follows is not addressed to them.

Sincere opponents are found, however, among those who in principle favor legislation and programs designed to improve the condition of the workingman and to raise the living standards of the underprivileged. Their criticism of social insurance—at least on any extensive scale—can be reduced to three headings. They object that:

1. It is unnecessary, since the same objectives can be obtained by a guaranteed minimum family wage, sufficient to take care of the future.
2. It is an unwarranted interference of government with the private affairs of citizens and, as such, is but another step toward paternalism and the "welfare" state.
3. Even if desirable, it is unsound in practice because the costs are prohibitive.

This article is concerned exclusively with objections 1 and 2. Cost can be discussed only in connection with a concrete program and within the framework of a given economic system. Suffice to say that, were complete coverage introduced into our own country, some economists estimate the cost as high as ten per cent of the national income.

Social legislation in general exists for the purpose of guaranteeing decent living standards to

those who, for one reason or other, would be unable to attain them unless protected and assisted by the State. By its very nature it is an implicit denial of the idea that the socio-economic system, if left to itself, will work to the maximum advantage of the greatest number of men. The aim of such legislation is to bring about a condition whereby persons willing to work can achieve, by right, for themselves and their dependents at least a minimum decent standard of living. What that standard is has been well expressed by the late Msgr. John A. Ryan, in his *Distributive Justice*:

Every man who is willing to work . . . has an inborn right to sustenance from the earth on reasonable terms or conditions . . . there is a certain minimum of goods to which every worker is entitled by reason of his inherent right to access to the earth. He has a right to a decent livelihood; that is, he has a right to so much of the requisites of sustenance as will enable him to live in a manner worthy of a human being. The elements of a decent livelihood may be summarily described as: Food, clothing and housing sufficient in quantity and quality to maintain the worker in normal health, in elementary comfort and in an environment suitable to the protection of morality and religion; sufficient provision for the future to bring elementary contentment, and security against sickness, accident and invalidity; and sufficient opportunities of recreation, social intercourse, education and church-membership to conserve health and strength and to render possible the exercise of higher faculties. (p. 272)

Because the individual worker or employer is powerless to provide with certainty such a standard of living, the responsibility rests upon society as a whole. And since the responsibility rests on society as a whole, it ultimately falls upon government—supported by informed public opinion—to see that social justice is observed. If social security, as one form of social legislation, needs any justification on moral grounds, that is it.

While it is quite easy to state the right of the worker, willing to work, to a decent living in the present and the future for himself and his dependents, it is most difficult in practice to declare exactly what is a living wage and how the worker is to be provided with it. Many who discuss the subject habitually fail to take into consideration all the variable elements which must enter into the calculations. Some of them are the following:

1. *Marital status of the worker.* Granted that the minimum wage should be adequate for the worker and his wife, is it to be such that it also provides for an unspecified number of children? Actually a very large percentage of children are dependent on a relatively small number of gainfully employed. Discrimination or inequity would be inevitable, and selfishness would induce parents to limit family size.

2. *Varying number of risks in various employments.* Highly seasonal and dangerous occupations

have a higher number of risks. If employers and workers must provide for them from their own resources, they are immediately at a disadvantage.

3. *Varying number of risks and contingencies which any given worker must face.* One worker may in a lifetime face all the extra costs of unemployment, sickness, accident, old age, extra dependents, death, whereas another may avoid them. To provide for all possible contingencies the minimum wage would have to be considerable, and even then inequities would exist.

It is the above reasons which make some sort of insurance scheme imperative if all foreseeable and unforeseeable risks are to be provided for. This does not deny the need for basic minimum-wage laws; it merely says that of themselves they solve only part of the problem. Insurance is still necessary. Thus reserve funds for emergencies, as well as risks, can be pooled and the cost on any given individual, worker or employer, kept down. Writing in the encyclical on *Atheistic Communism*, His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, recognizes this fact:

But social justice cannot be said to have been satisfied so long as workingmen are denied a salary that will enable them to secure proper sustenance for themselves and for their families; as long as they are denied the opportunity of acquiring a modest fortune and forestalling the plague of universal pauperism; as long as *they cannot make suitable provision through public or private insurance for old age, for periods of illness and unemployment.* (Italics ours)

Public insurance is social security. The Pope commends it when private insurance cannot do the job. He does not call it an "evil" but evidently considers it an exercise of social justice, given the proper conditions.

Individuals have long since recognized the fact that insurance is necessary. They admit it by taking out coverage against death, accident and injury. It is evidently the compulsory part they balk at. Yet compulsory insurance covering the minimum needs of *all* workers is but the next step toward the achievement of social justice. The historical growth of social insurance is indicated by Valère Fallon, S.J., in his *Principles of Social Economy*:

Historically, the institution developed as follows: non-organized mutual help; free and private insurance, particularly mutual insurance; insurance with employers' and state subsidies; compulsory insurance; successive extensions to cover all the aleatory expenses of life and finally to cover family charges. (p. 285)

The principle of minimum coverage by compulsory insurance in no way prevents the individual with a higher income from *voluntarily* increasing his coverage with non-governmental insurance groups. These companies would not be put out of

business. Actual experience shows that, once the benefits of minimum insurance are realized, extra coverage is appreciated and sought for. Compulsory minimum insurance is invoked simply because in this case—as evidenced from history—private insurance, on a voluntary basis, is unequal to the complete task.

In addition to the reasons already indicated the following considerations must also be kept in mind:

1. Even though paid a wage sufficient to cover necessary insurance costs on a voluntary basis, many of the lower-income workers will not take advantage of the opportunity, through greed, ignorance and inertia. In this case they end up by becoming charges on the state and community, with no insurance provisions. Tax money and extensive charity are the only sources to which they can look for assistance.

2. Voluntary companies, operated on a profit basis, cannot do the job as cheaply as non-profit agencies. Moreover, both profit and non-profit agencies, cooperatives included, are too limited in capital, organization and influence to give full national coverage to *all* workers for *all* emergencies that threaten their income.

3. Only compulsory insurance, covering even cases unable to make payment and charging a flat rate not graduated according to risk, can achieve the distribution of wealth which social justice demands. In this connection it should be recalled that usually the lowest-paid workers are the ones with the greatest risks and, therefore, in a voluntary scheme would have to pay the highest rates. This difficulty can be got around only by government.

If the need exists and it can be satisfied only by government—which has the responsibility of providing for the general welfare—then government's carrying out of its responsibility is both lawful and right. It is up to an informed citizenry, intelligently critical of legislative measures and the manner of their execution, to see that government's method of meeting the need is moral and without undue curtailment of personal liberties.

WHO'S WHO

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THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

EDITHA

President Truman has asked the Congress to enact a peacetime universal military-training law at the earliest possible moment. We cannot but register our keen disappointment over this fact and over the arguments which the President used in support of his proposal.

A year ago, when talk of peacetime conscription became general, we sat down and studied the question from every possible angle. The necessity of a sound defense of our future security we accepted as a self-evident premise. But it was not long before we discovered a serious flaw in the War Department's insistence that had we passed a compulsory training law after World War I, we would not have been caught unprepared on the fateful December 7, 1941. The fact is that in 1920 Congress passed a sound and adequate National Defense Act, as successive Army Chiefs of Staff—Pershing, MacArthur, Malin Craig—not only acknowledged but emphasized in their annual reports to the Secretary of War. But after enacting the 1920 law, Congress stubbornly refused to grant the annual appropriations for carrying it out.

These are the facts which anyone has full access to in the publications of the War Department. Yet since 1941 the War Department has been using every device at its command to make the people believe our lack of preparedness for World War II was due to our lack of a peacetime military-training program in the years following World War I. This is counterfeit reasoning at its worst.

It is therefore sadly disappointing to find the President swallowing this sort of reasoning, hook, line and sinker. The only explanation we can think of is suggested by the tone of the whole message to Congress. Its tone is one of despair, as if he had already given up hope of anything but an appeal to the threat of armed might. How far this tone is from the golden words with which he hailed the setting up of the United Nations organization! Are we to believe that the possibility of dealing peaceably with Russia has come to a complete impasse? Or is the universal-training threat aimed at making Russia get down to across-the-table negotiation? Universal training seems to us only an illusory answer to either question.

The details of the President's proposal present a series of problems to Congress: the cost of universal training, *plus* a very considerable regular army, a greatly enlarged National Guard and ROTC, technological research, supporting armaments, etc.; the training of *every* boy, 18 to 20,

in industry (how will labor like that?) if not in combat; the stake and status of education in and out of the universal-training program.

It is well that Congress shows it will not be hurried into committing the country to the President's proposal without scrutinizing it very, very carefully.

COLLECTIVE GUILT

Those who have been so vocal and ready to proclaim each individual German's share in the guilt of Dachau and Buchenwald ought to pause a little from now on before they solve a delicate moral and political problem so glibly and rashly. The reason for the pause is that, by the same logic they use, you and I are guilty of a revoltingly similar, if not exactly equal, barbarism.

The prisoner-of-war camps in France is where this newest barbarism rankly flourishes. Figures vary, but there are several million German prisoners under French care; of that number, the United States has sent to France some 700,000 captured by our troops. Now the story breaks in the French press that these prisoners of war have been treated, some of them ever since D-day in Normandy, little better than were the victims of the German concentration camps. Malnutrition, nakedness, lack of medical care, being held incommunicado, with no books, radios, papers—all these have existed for months; the explosion in the French press—in *Figaro*, *Combat*, *Le Temps Présent*—is too unanimous and horrified and too well documented to constitute merely a stunt.

The uneasy point for our examination of conscience is that the Government of the United States has been sending captured Germans into such a hell. Fortunately, further transmission of Germans to France will be held up by this Government until a commission, working with the International Red Cross, makes a report on camp conditions in France. But for over a year, until the French press blew the putrid situation wide open, the United States was either criminally ignorant of conditions or criminally indifferent; and, by the reasoning mentioned above, you and I, to the extent to which we were indifferent to our Government's attitude, shared the guilt. It is not a very pleasant thought; perhaps the uneasiness it may occasion in our own hearts may make us a little less ready to impute guilt helter-skelter to others.

One result, as we see it, must rise from this

scandal. The majority of the German prisoners we turned over to France were to be used in reconstruction work. They were "slave labor." The revelation of the conditions under which they have lived and worked has realized the worst fears this Review has consistently expressed—such reparations, labor, if it is to be used at all, cannot in conscience be tolerated without the strictest measures of control of the hours, conditions, duration and nature of the work. The facile agreement, made at Yalta, according to the Russians, to use labor for reparations, was a callously casual damning of millions of Europeans. That cannot now be undone; perhaps this country can now begin to redress the wrong it has committed by giving the American public a frank statement of the principles it intends to use in the matter of slave labor.

PEACE AND POWER

"Peace must be built upon power," said President Truman to Congress on October 23. True enough. But just as true, and more important, is what followed: "as well as upon good will and good deeds."

Power is, of itself, neither good nor bad; it is simply a fact. It does not create rights; it does not abrogate rights. It only means that a nation is able to defend its rights, or, if evilly disposed, to infringe the rights of other nations.

Power brings responsibility. In today's world the responsibility is overwhelming and inescapable. In the atomic bomb America has set free a force capable of destroying the world. It is our responsibility to see that this force is never again loosed for destruction. But loosed it will be—as only the blind could fail to see—if it becomes the possession of national sovereignties, each claiming to be the final arbiter of its own rights and claims. For the final arbitration of states has always been war; and we, like the other great Powers, are evidently preparing—as the President's message shows—for that arbitration.

The United Nations, conceived in the pre-atomic age, cannot in the last analysis prevent that final, fatal arbitration. Only good will and good deeds can do that. America would be showing the finest good will and doing a great and good deed by taking the lead in giving the United Nations the power—even by drastic limitation of national sovereignty—to accomplish its purpose of promoting peace and justice.

CHURCH AND NAZIS

The outline of the picture is being filled in with every passing week; the outline is the clear fact, which simply demands the assent of all men of good will, that the Church was always the stern foe of Nazism; the filling in is supplied by fact upon fact coming to light now that censorship allows the story to be told.

Two important documents revealing further the details of this struggle have recently been released. The first emphasizes again the Vatican's awareness of the scope and malice of Nazi anti-Catholicism and the Holy Father's forthright protests; the second reveals the extent to which the German Bishops gauged the evil and kept the Holy See informed.

On July 10, 1939, with the Reich girded to full strength for the attack on Poland two months away, the Papal Secretary of State presented to the German Ambassador at the Vatican a memorandum headed "Some of the Main Decrees and Acts Directed Against the Catholic Church in Germany in Recent Months." Enumerated are acts of a general nature and a list of specific instances.

Among the general measures of persecution are: demands made on student hostels to submit to regulations totally irreconcilable with Christian education; the closing of private denominational schools in Austria and Prussia; the limitation of religious instruction in Salzburg and Bavaria; consistent efforts, following the suppression of the denominational schools, to de-Christianize all education; restrictions and confiscations applied to Catholic charitable organizations.

Individual acts singled out include: the occupation of monasteries; the closure of six Jesuit colleges; seizure of documents in the Diocesan offices of Limburg; various acts of sacrilegious vandalism.

The document indicates clearly that the Holy See judged these general attitudes and specific acts not as mere sporadic occurrences, but as the result of a well organized campaign under central direction. In presenting a memorandum of such a tone to the German Ambassador, the Holy See was giving open notice that it would fight Nazism to the finish.

The second document to come to light is an exchange of letters between the German Hierarchy and the Holy Father. The Bishops drafted their letter before the start of the 1941 Fulda Conference, June 24-26. Again, it is important to note the dates. In April, Germany had invaded Yugoslavia and Greece; on June 22, the apparent-

ly unstoppable Nazi armies invaded Russia; Germany was at the height of her military power. But in that heady atmosphere the German Bishops are not nationalistic; they are shepherds of the Christian flock, and under Germany's apparent greatness they see sadly the rottenness, and they protest vigorously, nor was it a matter of little danger thus to criticize an omnipotent, power-drunk state.

The war against the Church, the Bishops report to the Pope, "has entered upon a new phase, perhaps the final struggle. It has become more intense and more concentrated." Pressure is increased to force laymen to absent themselves from religious services and even to leave the Church; in this way and others "freedom of conscience is repressed to a degree simply intolerable"; priests, for recalling to the people the Divine law that governs marriage, have been sent to concentration camps.

In response, writing on September 8, the Pope prays that the "intrepid fidelity" of the German Bishops may "continue to flourish and to oppose to the growing storm that growing resistance which will overcome it."

The two letters might have been penned in the days of the early Christian martyrs; there breathes in them a true apostolic courage, fierce moral indignation and the serenity of heart of those who are carrying on God's work. It is only a prejudiced mind which will refuse to see in them further irrefragable proof of the steadfastness of the German Bishops and of the Holy See's initial, continuing and final hostility to Nazism.

ENEMIES OF CAPITALISM

If the experts who select questions for the Gallup Poll were to ask the public: "Who are the most dangerous enemies of the American system of free enterprise?" a goodly number would quickly answer "the New Deal." Others would say "the Communists," and others still, "the labor unions in general and John L. Lewis in particular." Only a very few, perhaps, would answer "the capitalists themselves."

That such a result might confidently be expected testifies to the great confusion abroad in the land today, a confusion created and encouraged by a press almost completely committed to the *status quo*. If the capitalistic system is ever abandoned in this country, the immediate cause will not be the social reforms of the New Deal, or a Communist *coup d'état*, or a plot engineered by organized labor. It will be: 1) a repetition of the 1929 debacle, with large-scale unemployment,

business bankruptcies, foreclosures on farm- and home-mortgages; or 2) a growing concentration of economic power in fewer and fewer hands until the stage is reached where public ownership will seem a desirable alternative to private collectivism. In either case, the deep, underlying cause will be the same, namely, the stupidity and avarice of the capitalists themselves.

Consider, if you will, the popular business reaction to the Murray-Patman full-employment bill, which passed the Senate several weeks ago in an emasculated form and is now in process of being smothered to death in the House. Bloated with working capital and blinded by the flash market created by wartime savings, American business, by and large, has elected to fight this bill to the finish. It has chosen to scorn the only concrete plan so far offered for the cooperation of government with industry, *even though it knows very well that without the assistance which only the Government can give, private enterprise cannot avoid another catastrophic depression*. That is sheer stupidity.

For a current instance of business avarice, a very disturbing wartime development in the whiskey-distilling industry will serve very well. This industry, since 1941, seems bent on proving the anti-capitalist thesis, that free competition inexorably begets monopoly and thus leads to collectivism. The Big Four in the industry began by gobbling up the smaller companies. To beat wartime restrictions on alcohol production, they took this means of laying their hands on the stocks the small companies had accumulated in their warehouses. Then they moved in on the wine industry, quickly achieving a dominating position there. The biggest factor in this industry right now is Schenley Distillers Corporation. Two years ago the latter corporation, not content with its sprawling liquor and wine empires, paid a cool \$6 million for the famous old Blatz Brewing Company.

The latest development in this drive against competition and individual enterprise is chronicled in the October 20 issue of *Business Week*. According to that reputable weekly, the liquor industry is now buying up every cooperage plant in sight. One by one these small plants, a number of them family-owned and operated for years, are falling into the hands of the Big Four. Soon there will be little competition left, and avarice will have driven another spike into the coffin of capitalism.

But these considerations appear to have little interest for the general public, which prefers the popular whipping-boys of the big-business press.

LITERATURE AND ART

CATHOLIC BOOK WEEK

HAROLD G. GARDINER

The thought may strike you, as you see the slogan chosen this year for Catholic Book Week, November 4-10, that it is indeed pretentious. The slogan truly is not modest in its claims; "Keys to World Peace—Christian Books," is a large order—what about it?

Now, of course, books are not going to save the world. Even the greatest Book of them all, the most fundamental, the most profound and, incidentally, still the most popular, was never intended, of itself, to save the world. It takes a living voice to teach mankind, and so Our Divine Lord left us more than the Bible; He left the vibrant voice of the living Church.

However, though the book on the shelf will not shape a world, the book in a man's hand, the book in a man's head and heart will. The Gospels, dinned into the ear of the Western world in season and out of season by the voice of the Church, changed that world. *Das Kapital*, transformed from a treatise into a passionate evangel, has disturbed a world. Who knows what book now stands unnoticed on a library shelf which will some day not far from now set fire to some reader's brain and start a movement that will shape the world again to some pattern of good or evil?

Hence, the claim of Catholic Book Week is not really too overweening. Books will not, surely, make world peace; but books that are Catholic, Christian, may start the wheels turning in the minds of men who will make or break the peace. The living-room (and Hitler's *Lebensraum* is not meant) where all nations sit together in peace, is not made by books; in fact, in one sense it is not made by human hands at all, but the key to open the lock, so that we all can enter, may, in God's Providence, lie in some Catholic book or books we now have or will soon get.

But how to get the keys into the hands of those who are fumbling at the lock? That is the function of such drives and weeks as Catholic Book

Week—there is a publicity job to be done; we have to tell the world that, if books can provide the key to world peace, then when better keys are made, the Church that holds the Keys, from Christ through Peter, will make them.

The publicity that must be done is unfortunately lamed by the fact that thousands of potential salesmen are unaware of the existence of the article; so it works out that Catholic Book Week is mainly a drive to tell Catholics that there are Catholic books, when it ought rather to be a campaign in which every Catholic, knowing Catholic books, would tell the world about them.

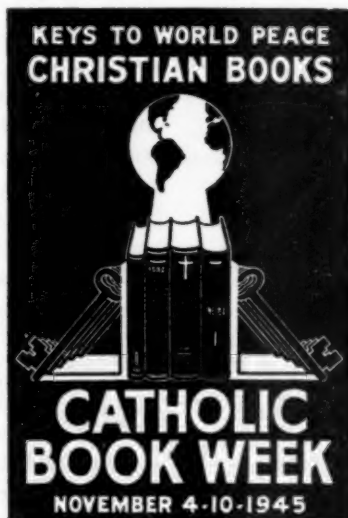
Still, let us not be too cynical. If it is a sorry fact that Catholics don't read Catholic books, it is also a fact and also a sorry one that nobody in this country really reads much. The heartening

thing is that we are so much better off in this regard now than we were ten or twenty years ago. Catholic libraries are in almost every city in the country; publishing houses do a volume of work that would have seemed chimerical a decade ago; in all fields except fiction Catholics can find books which generally meet their needs.

It is in the hope that this growth in interest will be further stimulated that Catholic Book Week this year has laid plans for the widest celebration yet attempted. Lists of books which are related to the problems of world peace can be got

from any Catholic bookstore or library; many organizations will feature meetings with prominent speakers; book displays will be set up—all means will be taken to bring to the attention, first of all of Catholics themselves, and then of others, that a wealth of books is ready at hand to contribute its Christian share to the solution of the peace.

But why write this article, anyway? Those interested in books will know already all it has to say; those not interested in books will never turn to this section of AMERICA. Well, I do have one suggestion. Those who are interested and know—why not make a resolve this Book Week to take a disinterested friend along to a visit to the Catholic



library or bookshop? Or why not send such a friend a Catholic book? It may seem a small thing, but perhaps in some such way we shall be getting more keys in more hands.

If we can scatter enough keys around, the chances are good that one day one of them is going to fit the lock. It's a hope worth holding and working for.

THE WISDOM OF MAKING

SISTER M. JOSELYN

All men get happiness from making things, even very small things, and from seeing big or small things others have made. People will say, "You made a fine turn there" or "That was a good cake you made" or, in another sense, "You made a lovely Juliet." Or they will stop with a little thrill when they have made a gracious word or pasted a postage stamp neatly or graduated a boy from college. Often they will stand without right words before a strong house or a boat or a Madonna and you can hear their hearts thinking oh, if only I had made that! Or you see them quite absurdly pleased with a piece of carpentry or a row of potatoes or a little dress they have sewed, and there is a look of the glory of God in their eyes.

And that is perfectly right, one of the most right things there is. Because God's Godliness is mostly His Divine making-ness, is it not? Some call it omnipotence. When God had finished making all His—and our—things, He was ineffably happy. He looked upon them and found them good, and something of His Divine making-ness throbbled in every one of us. Because we are as we are, making is second-hand, we make from something, while God makes from nothing. Innumerable are the things that man can make (but they are still so much less than the things he cannot make).

In this life you may choose making, say, good bread, strong shoes; or good, hard, straight streets, and they are all good things. Or you may go a little higher (with a wider margin for heartbreak because you can make a perfect street but never a perfect sonnet) and make (well, try to make) music or a poem or a picture or a statue or a story that will be absolutely yours and absolutely everyone's. And you can never do it, and you can never stop trying.

The most wonderful, though, of man's makings are two: a child and a saint. To all men is given a possible part in making a child. That is as near to God's making as we can come. He will

even help us, He will give us an immortal soul, to put a sort of Divinely necessary importance into our making. Making a child, a youth, a man, a woman, is a making that never ends, really. Making a saint never ends either. You find those who can try to carry out both makings, they are brave and strong and quite often wise. There are others who from a God-planted necessity set their faces only toward the second. Sometimes they very early have it planned thus: I will make myself a saint and then I will go to God and say "Here I am." They learn, usually, the fierce eagerness of God to do the making Himself (the little grain had to *die*), and their life will be just to keep panting and crying after God: "Here I am! Make me! Make me! Make a saint!"

All makers who work in wisdom and uprightness will have certain marks in them, and perhaps the Judgment will be merely God looking for those marks and either finding them or not finding them and either saying, "Why, I *know* you," or not saying it. A true maker has in him the mark of reverence, first for things, because he knows what he can do and not do with them, and next for God, because he has thought of the coming forth of all things made and unmade and he knows that they are from God. He will have found out about patterns, too, and that all patterns are firstly in God. He will know that to bring forth patterns is the most wonderful thing that can be done by man, and that God is the making of patterns unceasingly. This will be a most awesome thought and he will get on his knees before it and in him will be born humbleness, which is the second mark of the maker.

After a while there will be the mark of wisdom (which is another name for honesty) because a maker will learn to see and think of things as they are. This he will perhaps have learned through the hardness of trying to make things to be what they are not, or from a sense of wonder that things are what they are at all. If he is a man of stature, he will fit this thought into his other thoughts of himself and of man and of God.

The maker will be a man of community because he will have seen by wisdom a vision of the flow of things from God to man, from man to man, and from man to God. He will have seen the bond between all men, wise and unwise, evil, good, gifted, poor, struggling, even if they do not know how or why or whereunto, to make something.

There are persons always saying now that the world needs to be remade. And I say, Come forth Makers, ye workers in spirit and in truth, to receive this earth with the other meek whose bounty it is to be.

BOOKS

ART AND PRAYER CONJOINED

THE SPLENDOR OF THE ROSARY. By *Maisie Ward*. Sheed and Ward. \$2.50

ONLY ONE THING prevents the wedding of art and meditation here achieved from being truly a marriage made in Heaven, and that is the lack of color. The lovely illustrations in black and white cry out for their original hues, and what is a warm, intimate book would have been a still more precious treasure if the masterpieces reproduced in it could have been allowed to tell their full story.

For without belittling Maisie Ward's text, it is the concatenation of the pictures with the text that really makes this book. This is not to be wondered at, for the pictures are Fra Angelico's, and the simple purity of the devotion that guided his brush makes these paintings eminently suited to illustrating the mysteries of the Rosary. Miss Ward is frank to say that the idea of so using the pictures was suggested to her by Mr. John Walker of the National Gallery of Art in Washington. The suggestion was happily seized upon by the author's industry and devotion to Our Lady, and the result is this rich little book, which should do untold good in making the Rosary still more dear to Catholics.

In addition to the meditations on the various mysteries—each mystery introduced by a picture—the introductory section of the book gives many interesting details about the history of the Rosary, its function, the theological bases underlying it. There is a deft appreciation of Fra Angelico and, throughout the text, Ruskin is frequently quoted to highlight some excellencies of the artist.

Miss Ward is particularly happy, it seems to me, in clarifying the function of the Rosary to consecrate the body to prayer; the appreciation of this point will refute all objections that the repetitious character of the Rosary results in a mechanization of prayer.

Happily, too, and quite naturally, since Miss Ward turned to this writing after just having finished her biography of Chesterton, echoes of that great man and of his very deep love of Our Lady abound throughout the book. It is indeed a happy company here assembled—Our Lady as Hostess, Fra Angelico and Chesterton to introduce us to her. From a reading of this book, our daily Rosaries will take on new freshness and meaning and become more and more what the author insists this prayer is—a "guide to reality."

HAROLD C. GARDINER

LIBERATION THROES

INSIDE ROME WITH THE GERMANS. By *Jane Scrivener*. The Macmillan Co. \$2.50

THAT A NUN, writing her diary each evening in a convent cell, should be a war correspondent is a startling index of how "total" the scourge of modern war has really become. For Americans to whom, over and above the heartache for loved ones in distant battlelines, the "home front" in war-time still meant only a field of heightened productive effort, considerable sacrifice of comfort and temporary submission to a more regimented life, there is a vivid lesson in the present book.

"Jane Scrivener" is an American nun who, because of her religious way of life, was never interned after the outbreak of war. *Inside Rome with the Germans* is her diary of the nine months from the Italian armistice to the final

liberation of that city. Constant trips to and from the Vatican, where she cooperated in the manifold works of mercy which centered there, daily journeys in search of food, the age-old genius of the Roman populace for pooling information independently of newspapers, and her convent's own position as a refuge for the war's victims—all afforded her unique opportunities to learn at first hand the story she tells. Her own exquisite culture—a privilege which is denied to most war correspondents—enabled her to tell that story with a simple reality and absence of artificial sensationalism which are far more dramatic than their newsprint counterparts. The reader will find that a nun has achieved, in reporting the bloodshed and terror and genuine heroism of the "home front," the ideal after which Ernie Pyle, best of the professionals, strove in his reporting.

So many threads run through this chronicle of a city's agony that it is difficult to single out any few for comment. There is, for instance, the people's own reaction to the tragic comedy of "the open city of Rome." Seeing the Axis troops and supplies pouring through the "open city," the simple folk laughed—and died bloodily—without resentment when American bombs fell on Rome's rail-yards and storage depots. The bombs which killed them in tenements and churches far from any such military objectives were a different matter. But the bitter bewilderment of this experience was not to be compared with the mass hatred which the Roman populace visited upon the Germans and their handful of Fascist tools. Reading the day-by-day account of torture and search, increasing starvation and senseless executions, one does not wonder at the intensity of the people's loathing, or at the spiral of violence and reprisal to which it inevitably led.

Recently the Jewish World Congress made a gift of twenty million lire (\$20,000) to the Vatican, in gratitude for its heroic devotion to Rome's hunted Jews. The story of this work of Christian mercy, reaching down into the humblest rectories and convents and private homes, is another of the book's more dramatic themes.

Those unfamiliar with nuns will be startled by the picture of quiet heroism and poise which the narrative unconsciously draws as it reveals the active share of these women in the terrible ordeal of their city. But the real protagonist of the tale is always the Roman populace itself. Bereft of any central government to which it could give loyalty, starving, freezing, torn by pillage within its own ranks, swept by alternate hope and despair, this mass of two million people never wavered in its contempt for the system whose victim it was, and proved again that "the charity of the poorest to one another" can be the greatest of the heroisms.

The diary form of *Inside Rome With the Germans* gives it a suspense and life-like quality which is heightened by the very littleness of the people who crowd its pages. One feels, at the book's end, as if he had lived through these months of war, in the heart of Christendom.

JOSEPH BLUETT

INTERNATIONALISM COMING

NATIONALISM AND AFTER. By *Edward Hallett Carr*. The Macmillan Co. \$1.25

THE YEAR 1919 saw the peak of nationalism. Every national group which had any vitality at all insisted on its right of self-determination. The peace settlement at Ver-



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to the "equality" of nations and their "freedom," and more attention to the equality and freedom of human beings who make up that nation. The driving force behind any future international order must be a belief, however expressed, in the value of individual human beings, irrespective of national affinities or allegiance.

On the other hand, the demonstrable bankruptcy of nationalism, political and economic, must not be used to justify a plunge into the visionary solution of a supreme world directorate. This he calls a "sentimental and empty universalism." The lure of universality has, in his opinion, since 1919 had a dangerous fascination for promoters of international order. It was probably a weakness of the League of Nations that its universalism could not be translated into terms of concrete policy. Professor Carr finds an answer to this problem in the intermediate unit. The "region" is likely to be the operative factor in the transition from nationalism to internationalism.

The essay was apparently written before the United Nations Charter was drafted. It was also written before the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. The wide scope given to regionalism in the Charter, the shift of emphasis from the equality of nations to equality of power, and the still clearer realization by the small nations that wars are a luxury of the big nations have added to his argument that nations as the unit of international life are obsolete. It is not probable, however, that he would come out for a world government. Regionalism is the intermediate step. But the first condition of international peace in our time is not world government but the abandonment of nationality and the nation as the unit of the international society.

ROBERT A. GRAHAM

IMMORTAL VILLAGE. By Donald Culross Peattie. The University of Chicago Press. \$2.75

CONFUSED AND BEWILDERED at the prospect of a world to be rebuilt, one yearns for a sense of perspective, if not in the desirable light of eternity, at least in the historical aspect of time. With such an idea in mind, the author has published this book, written fifteen years ago when, as he states in his delightful introduction, he was trying to establish himself as a writer. He found the village of Vence a warm and kindly place, flooding his sorrow-darkened life with solace and light. He came to love it and sought expression of his love in writing about it.

Reaching back to pre-historic times, he scans the history of Europe as it touched upon this Provençal village. Mr. Peattie is the first to disclaim scholarly pretensions for his story, but with a naturalist's careful observation and a poet's vivid pictures, the story of Vence unfolds from the Stone Age, through the Classic and Medieval Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the waves of revolution, until in the postscript the narrative comes up to date with the spilling of blood on the ancient cobblestones in the latest liberation of France.

Strife and blood are nothing new to Vence, nor are famine and pestilence, oppression and rebellion, but Vence has outlived its trials—and therein lies the author's message of hope. It is more than a pageant of violence; it captures the charm of classic survivals, commends the "wise old Church" for its absorption of pagan traditions, blends legend with fact to highlight the personalities of the village, accents the triumph of the gaiety and simplicity of the Vençois over the dank gloom of Protestantism and, later, Jansenism.

In his postscript, the author reminds us of our stake in the fortunes of Vence, our common heritage, our realistic neighborliness, and at this point a faint sense of objection takes

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form. Man, as individual, is seen in his frailty, but *humanity* is indomitable, self-sufficient, ever emergent. Humanity, concept that it is, is incapable of acknowledging its need, its dependence. Will man profit from his most recent bitter lesson?

MARY STACK MCNIFF

"STEPCHILDREN" OF FRANCE. By Charles Odic. Translated from the French by Henry Noble Hall. Roy Publishers. \$2.50

MANY BOOKS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED in the United States regarding the plight of the Jews in occupied countries, particularly in France. Their authors were, for the most part, refugees or partisans. "*Stepchildren*" of France was written on the spot, in France, by a Parisian physician of Catholic faith. Two things stand out in his narrative: the absence of Jewish self-consciousness among native French Jews and the spontaneous help Frenchmen gave the hunted men. Most Frenchmen being Catholics, it was natural for them to come to the rescue of the persecuted, and to snatch their children from the enemy. The book is a first-hand account of German atrocities on a helpless minority in Paris, but it should not be put in the hands of children, the reader needing a strong heart to go through a volume which, however well written, shows man, in this case the German, at his unspeakable worst. Its authenticity is heightened by the giving of names of persecuted, dates and exact circumstances surrounding some of the most notorious wholesale raids, as well as detailed descriptions of the largest Jewish concentration camp—the infamous Drancy.

A statement made to Dr. Odic by one of the Jewish victims emphasizes a point rarely brought out by critics of Catholic France: "Frenchmen may be Jews but even so they are saturated with the spirit of the Gospels, like all other Frenchmen. Their culture is Christianity." The treatment of the so-called Jewish problem as it concerns France is more skilfully handled in this book than in any other we have read.

PIERRE COURTINES

THE WESTERN ISLAND OR THE GREAT BLASKET. By Robin Flower. With illustrations by Ida M. Flower. Oxford University Press. \$2.50

THE WESTERN ISLAND is the fruit of twenty years' musing over holiday visits made to the Great Blasket by Robin Flower and his wife, who has supplied the delicate pen sketches that accompany the text. The book reveals this process of loving and leisurely distillation so far removed from the anthropological rawness of much donnish writing nowadays. Mr. Flower, Curator of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum, is an international authority on Gaelic folklore; he knows all about caliper measurements and has done his share in archeological "digs," but the present volume has been composed under the less austere aegis of such gentle amateurs of travel as John Buchan and R. L. S.

Its note is the low-pitched pastoral of an oaten pipe celebrating the serenities of a way of life disappearing now, even from the quiet sea-girt islands in Dingle Bay. So Robin Flower's pages are also a threnody for what has passed, as his preface sadly acknowledges:

The King is dead and Tomás and the greater part of that lamenting company, and all this that follows is the song we made together of the vanished snows of yesterday.

The folk- and fairy-lore is very authentic, and sometimes piercingly beautiful. Mr. Flower has included a noble variant of the Oriental tale of Death and the Caliph's servant, told him by Tomás ó Crithin, about the fisherman who could not

avoid the day of his death but had to go to Iris Tuaisceart there to await the fated wave. Tomás' story is a fine pendant to Synge's *Aran Riders to the Sea* or Saunders Mucklebackit's curse on the black boat in Scott's *Antiquary*, and not inferior, in its starkness, to these literary versions. But now, says Mr. Flower:

That world has turned to another way of life, and no passion of regret can revive a dying memory. . . . We can preserve a little of that tradition in the ink that has destroyed it. But the reality of the tradition is passing from us now, and I can only think that the world is poorer for its passing.

One can understand, in the face of Celtic non-literate literary power, his lament for the passing of the oral tradition, slain as it has been by "the fatal drip of printer's ink."

CHARLES A. BRADY

MEXICAN VILLAGE. By Josephina Niggli. University of North Carolina Press. \$3

FROM ITS TITLE you might expect to open a brochure put out by the Mexican equivalent of our Chambers of Commerce, or a travel agency. You would be pleasantly surprised to find it not so. The Mexican village of Hidalgo, an actual village in Nuevo León, is the unpretentious setting for both pretense and reality. The ten stories which make *Mexican Village* are part fact and part fiction according to the author; but fact or fiction, they are readable in the best sense of the word.

Plot and passion are here, laughter with tears; anger mixed in with earthy comedy and other things earthy; involvements of world-shaking impact which shake only Hidalgo, but shake it down to its red baked-clay foundations. Movement, color, life are here, men and women and boys and girls who with all their foreign dress and manners are recognizable.

Mexican Village is unique in its composition. The ten stories are each complete, and any one could be read and enjoyed independently of the other nine. It is not extraordinary that the same names and characters appear in every story, for this is the village of Hidalgo. But it is extraordinary enough to be called unique that the ten stories are made to unfold another story, one that begins on the first page of "The Quarry" and is completed only in the last pages of "The Street of the Forgotten Angel."

There is more than a slight similarity between *Mexican Village* and *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. There is even a remembrance, however slight the connection, evoked of *The Canterbury Tales*.

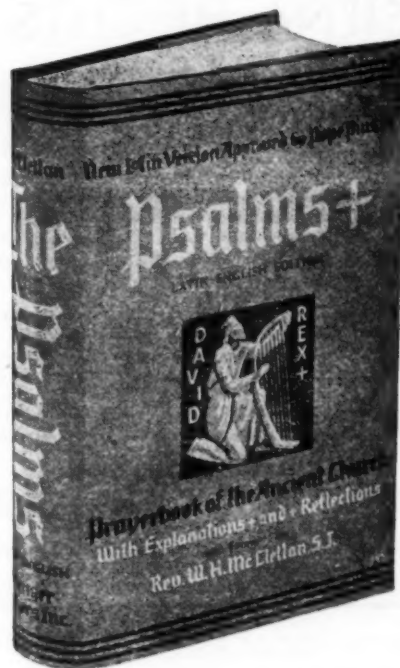
One reservation must be made. It has to do with a fly that infests an otherwise clear ointment. And this fly is a particularly ugly and noxious fly. On page 165 Saint Joseph is described as "the patron saint of men whose wives have proven unfaithful to them." If only a nausea of revulsion were the effect these words produce in the Catholic reader, it would be painful enough. But they do more; they lay an implication against the Immaculate Mother of God which it is monstrous even to give thought to.

HAYDEN A. VACHON

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THE ASSASSIN, probably because the producers were dis-
mayed by its cold, even hostile, reception by first-night
reviewers, was booked to close after five performances. On
second thought, it seems, they decided to continue as ten-
ants of The National, indefinitely, I hope. While Irwin
Shaw's play has numerous faults, a few of which will be
mentioned later, it is peer to most and superior to many
productions which remain current long enough to enable
the producers to break even, and perhaps profit a bit.

Algiers is the scene of the story—from early November
until late December in 1942—when the city was seething
with the patriotic activities of the Underground and the
conspiracies of the French brass, which culminated in the
assassination of Admiral Darlan, whence the title. The wily
Admiral, called Vespary, is hated by the Underground for
collaborating with the Nazis and envied by his intimates,
ambitious to grasp his power. It is the latter who contrive
his destruction.

Robert De Mauny, the assassin, calls himself a royalist.
Still, he allies himself with the Underground, which includes
all kinds of patriotic Frenchmen from Jewish intellectuals
to Communist dock-workers. The plot unfolds in eight
scenes, almost equally divided between the Free French
hideaways and the villas where the brass hats devise their
intrigues while sipping brandy and soda. It happens that
most of the people with good manners are corrupt while
most of the people who are honest in motive and sincerely
love their country have bad manners. The contrast, of
course, is too pat, and does not add strength to the play.
Another weakness is the inadequate motivation of the Gen-
eral who instigates Vespary's murder. One guesses that he
wants to usurp the dictator's place, but it is never made
clear. De Mauny has a patent enough reason for desiring
Vespary out of the way. He wants to see a French king
at the head of the nation, not a puppet dictator.

Spotty dialog frequently gets in the way of the action and
distracts one's attention from the story, but De Mauny's
lines are well written and in character, at times make poetry;
and the leader of the Underground at one point rises to
brilliance—in his speech on the quality of men.

Where the play shines is in the characterization of De
Mauny. A sensitive dreamer, suffering with his country, he
swaggers among his associates with the grand airs of a
courtier, as if in preparation for assuming his rightful place
in the monarchical France he hopes will rise from the debris
of war. He is befuddled, but has courage and humor, and
refuses to believe himself frustrated or to become embittered.
He impresses one with his reality.

As far as the script allows, a large cast makes the story
plausible and interesting, at times packed with suspense.
Frank Sundstrom, as De Mauny, brings out all the latent
pathos of the youth trying to recapture the irretrievable
past. Leslie Woods, the girl whose interest in life is rekindled
by De Mauny, is effectively restrained as a desolate soldier's
widow. Harold Huber is contemptibly slimy as the venal
detective, and I believe it is Karl Malden who makes it easy
to understand why the Underground leader inspires con-
fidence.

The Assassin was produced by Carly Wharton and Martin
Gabel, in association with Alfred Bloomingdale. Mr. Gabel
directed and Boris Aronson designed the sets, both falling
short of distinction. If the play survives its faltering start,
it will be because the author created at least one appealing
character, sympathetically interpreted by Mr. Sundstrom.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FILMS

THE STORK CLUB. One by one, New York's famous night spots are being immortalized (for the time being anyway) on celluloid. Now Sherman Billingsley's well known club provides the setting, at least part of the while, for a Cinderella tale about a crotchety old millionaire who anonymously turns fairy godfather to a hat-check girl after she rescues him from drowning. Betty Hutton is the Stork Club employe and Barry Fitzgerald is the supposedly parsimonious benefactor. Because so much of worldly goods is showered on the girl, her Marine fiancé (Don DeFore) suspects the worst when he returns from the Pacific, and it takes some untangling before things are straightened out. Fun and comedy pile up as the story unwinds, with Mr. Fitzgerald taking top honors in that line. Robert Benchley handles an amusing poker-face role. Music and dancing have been smartly injected, with Miss Hutton rendering several songs, especially *Doctor, Lawyer, Indian*, in her animated style. Then, to make sure that the tuneful end is well taken care of, Andy Russell croons a few numbers and joins the star in *I'm a Square in the Social Circle*, one of the best, *Love Me the Way I Love You* and *If I Had a Dozen Hearts*. Bill Goodwin, the radio announcer, deserves mention for his delineation as the nightery's host. Throughout, Director Hal Walker has maintained a lively, often hilarious mood. *Adults* are guaranteed a good time at this one. (*Paramount*)

THE ENCHANTED FOREST. There is no doubt that this is a film geared to the liking of the young and of those oldsters who can manage a trip back into unsophisticated youth. This is the fantastic history of an old hermit who found peace in the woodland and friendship with its four-footed inhabitants. Photographed in lovely Cinecolor, the film captures the majesty, the poetic aspect of an undefined forest. Harry Davenport has the role of Old John, the human who is a friend to Mr. Green, the frog who predicts the weather; to Bruno, a faithful canine companion; to the wise old owl; to Blackie, the shrewd crow; to the squirrels, the foxes and other denizens of the woods. When lumbermen invade the place, its natural beauty seems doomed, until a storm changes the course of events—for the boss's grandchild is lost in a flood. Old John, aided by his animal comrades, rescues the boy and brings him up in the simple ways of the forest. Years later, the child is reunited with his mother (Brenda Joyce) and the humans from the outside learn to respect the ideas of those who live close to nature. Edmund Lowe has the sympathetic part of a doctor who does his best to understand both sides. The story is the weakest part of the presentation; but its interpretation is satisfactorily managed, with the trained animals capturing honors. This is suggested to all the *family* as wholesome entertainment. (*P.R.C.*)

YOLANDA AND THE THIEF. At last I have seen a picture with Fred Astaire that succeeds in being a complete bore—a thing I never would have believed possible. Adding insult to injury, this offering is sadly lacking in good taste as well, as it records the fantastic affairs of an exaggeratedly innocent Latin-American girl, who emerges from a convent school and is taken over the hurdles by a crooked fellow from the North who tries to relieve her of her fortune, and eventually causes her to lose her innocence but not her cash. Lucille Bremen has the part of the heiress, and manages to simper through it. Both she and Mr. Astaire are at their best in the too-brief dance interludes. This musical can be suggested to *mature* audiences as spectacle without substance. (*M.G.M.*)

MARY SHERIDAN

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PARADE

EMOTIONAL DISTURBANCES hit various sections of the nation. . . . The querulousness that can float up from the football field was exemplified in the Southwest, where a high-school pigskin team spread social unrest all over a Texas town. . . . After this team lost its fifth successive game, the house of the coach was coated with malodorous broken eggs. The coach resigned; nineteen members of the football team turned in their books. The parents held a mass meeting. The superintendent of schools, a cut on his head, resigned; the principal resigned; the whole school board resigned. . . . Alimony trouble added to the discontent. . . . Arrested on complaint of a woman seeking back alimony, a New York man spent three days in jail before it was discovered the lady had mistakenly identified him as one of her former husbands. . . . Mass-production hooliganism appeared. . . . In Philadelphia, as a footpad dashed away with a citizen's wallet, a second hold-up man approached but disappeared as the first thief yelled back: "Don't bother him. I already got his money." . . . Legal prerogatives of the ex-husband status received judicial definition. An Indiana court decreed that a man may spank his ex-wife if she tries to prevent him from taking his legal property. . . . Utter confusion pervaded a St. Louis, Mo., wedding reception. The bride's sister fell down the stairs into the basement. Differences of opinion among the guests over first-aid methods became acute and police were called. A policeman carrying the injured girl up the stairs stumbled and slid back down the steps. He dislocated an ash-can which fell on the bride and two of the remaining uninjured guests. Later, the bride and groom left on their honeymoon. . . . Hysterical mob scenes were reported. . . . Standing before a Denver newspaper want-ad window, an apartment-house owner said in a loud voice: "I have six apartments to rent—no objection to children." In no time, a surging throng surrounded him. Grabbing him by the coat lapels a woman shouted: "I heard him first." A soldier tugged at his coat-tails. Two fat men grasped his arms. He lost his billfold, keys and spectacle case. . . . Attachment to store teeth was revealed. . . . In Chicago, a seventy-five-year-old man sought divorce, charging that his argumentative wife enticed him into numerous debates which wore out his false teeth. He maintained he could not afford to keep paying \$150 for new sets of uppers and lowers. . . . Cold air caused excitement in North Tonawanda, N. Y. A housewife there went to the refrigerator to get a pheasant which had been shot and presented to her husband by a friend. When she opened the refrigerator door, the pheasant flew out right in her face. The air in the refrigerator had revived the slightly wounded bird. . . . A California bride became somewhat irritated at the conduct of the bridegroom at the wedding. Immediately after he said: "I do," he turned pale, trembled, fell to the floor with a thud.

The week was not all irritation and irascibility. . . . Bright, cheery spots appeared. . . . The New Jersey Army Office of Dependency Benefit received the following letter: "My husband is fat, sway-backed, with a crick in the sway. He's chip-elbowed, has several teeth missing, and hobbles into age thirty-eight this month. But he has a nice smile and I love him. So why don't you send him home? P.S. Think of the money you would save." . . . Irascibility usually springs from selfishness. . . . Real love is unselfish. . . . Radar-like, it penetrates beyond the sway-back, the chip-elbow, beyond even the nice smile to the loving heart behind the smile.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

CORRESPONDENCE

POLICY ON SPAIN

EDITOR: Your correct "Comment" in *AMERICA* of October 6 on the point of our policy toward Spain overlooked the vital fact. On April 2, 1939, the Department of State—and inferentially President Roosevelt—gave *de jure* recognition to the government of Spain. That was the Franco government. The *de jure* recognition implied directly that the Franco regime came to power by internationally approved juridical processes. The current release by Under Secretary Dean Acheson, and the letter of former President Roosevelt thus released, reveal a contradiction in American foreign policy. The question is: shall we stand on our principles of international order, or shall we bow to foreign and domestic emotion and reverse our principles? The United States stands before the world as the champion of justice. To forfeit that reputation means nothing but disgrace and future trouble.

Detroit, Mich.

W. EUGENE SHIELS, S.J.

SECONDING FATHER DUNNE

EDITOR: I have read with great interest Father Dunne's splendid contribution to the October 20 issue of *AMERICA*, *Racial Segregation Violates Justice*. Apropos of the editorial remarks prefacing this article, the following observations may be of interest.

If Father Dunne has proved his point, namely, that racial segregation violates justice and therefore is immoral, does it not follow that in the few States where racial-segregation laws prevail, such laws are likewise immoral and, therefore, not binding?

Here in Missouri, where we have a law of segregation governing the school system, an opinion was sought from the Attorney General of the State as to whether it would be illegal to admit colored students to St. Louis University. His reply stated that the law applied to public schools only. At present many colored students are actually attending St. Louis University in a State which has a Jim Crow educational law.

To sum up: Father Dunne has proved that racial segregation is immoral; consequently State Jim Crow laws are not only not binding but should be opposed as being immoral laws. As a State with a segregation statute, Missouri has set a precedent by interpreting its own Jim Crow educational law as binding on public schools only. Consequently I do not see how any Catholic school can be "forced" to abide by such a Jim Crow law.

St. Louis, Mo.

JOHN P. MARKOE, S.J.

SPANISH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

EDITOR: I have read the editorial published in *AMERICA* under the title *Friends of Spain* in the September 22 issue.

The editorial is written on the occasion of an exchange of letters between Bishop Hartman, Methodist Bishop of Boston, Chairman of the Friends of Spanish Democracy, and Mr. Russell, who replied in the name of the Secretary of State, Mr. Byrnes.

The fact that Mr. Russell "reassured Bishop Hartman" in his complaints against General Franco's Government causes the editorialist to comment in the first place that "we must presume that the Friends of Spanish democracy—and similar-

minded groups—have suddenly increased their anti-Spanish activity in the hope of persuading this country to sever relations with the Franco Government in favor of the recently established Republican Government-in-exile in Mexico." Why does the editorialist say "anti-Spanish activity" instead of "anti-Franco, anti-dictatorial activity?" In the same editorial he realizes his mistake, because he admits the existence of a Republican Government-in-exile. This Government is recognized by all the factions of Iberian democracy. Is it an anti-Spanish activity to support it? Why?

The editorialist answers with: "The urgency of our first point becomes obvious—who compose the Republic in Mexico City and what do they stand for?" A detailed explanation of its composition and aims seems to be called for, but the editorialist thinks he has answered the question in just one paragraph.

He continues thus: "Can that government be called democratic which, pretending to represent a nation overwhelmingly Catholic, not only contains not a single Catholic but is headed by a group of men who have dedicated a lifetime to the most violent attacks upon the very foundations of religion? This is not mere assertion, but a fact of official records."

Who, however, compose the Government formed in Mexico City? Here is a list of the members with their respective affiliations:

President	Professor José Giral, Republican
Foreign Affairs	Professor Fernando de los Rios, Socialist
Justice	Dr. Alvaro de Albornoz, Republican
Navigation, Industry and Commerce	Dr. Manuel de Irujo, Basque Nationalist, Catholic
Public Education	Professor Miguel Santalo, Catalan nationalist, <i>Ezquerria Republicana</i> (Republican Left)
Work and Emigration	Trifón Gomez, Socialist, representing the labor union "Unión General de Trabajadores" (General Union of Workers)
Finance	Professor Augusto Barcia, Republican
Defense	General Hernandez Sarabia, Independent military expert
Interior	Dr. José Torres Campana, Republican
Ministers at large (without portfolio)	Dr. Angel Ossorio Gallardo, Independent Democrat, Catholic
	Professor Luis Nicolau d'Oliver, Catalan Nationalist of <i>Accio Catalana</i> , Catholic.

From the above list it is plain that there are three well-known Catholics in the Government, contradicting the statement of the editorialist who states that it "contains not a single Catholic." How can it be unknown, when the Government of democratic coalition includes Mr. Irujo, whose history in defense of religious principles, before and during the Civil War, has perhaps not been equaled by any Catholic Minister in a European government under similar circumstances?

I wish to emphasize that those "official records" must refer specifically to the "group of men" who compose the Government, but not to others, and the "official records" must be based on authentic facts or documents, not on the references of adverse propaganda.

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Modern psychological research has shown fear to be the basic human emotion. Man's initial sentiment is of insecurity, of danger threatening from all sides, in a stormy, chaotic world, full of dark forces, alien to man, hostile to him, impatient of his control, and ultimately destined to triumph over him and bring him to the grave.

Moreover, experience has probably taught each of us that fear and the faint-heartedness it causes are the most paralyzing of sentiments. They kill initiative, hopes and plans; above all, they block achievements by undermining perseverance in aspirations and in enterprises.

We know, too, that man fears death above all things, and that an unholy fear of death (and of things like death—frustration, failures, losses, defeats) is of itself a kind of death.

It is not wonderful, therefore, that our Lord was so concerned all His life with the problem of human fear, especially fear of death. He knew its power; for fear was the ultimate weapon with which Satan came against Him in the Garden of Gethsemane. And under the cold shock of the fear of death, His initial fear, He "grew bewildered and dismayed" (Mark 14:33), paralyzed into a sluggishness from which He could hardly rouse Himself, so overcome that, as He said, His soul was "ready to die with sorrow" (v. 34), ready to give up itself and all its purposes.

Hence all His life He fought unholy fear. In the boat tossed by the storm He slept; but the cry of fear awakened Him. He went into action immediately with an act of power: He "laid a censure" (so the Greek text) on the forces of nature, which (quite literally) do not know their own strength nor their power over the heart of man.

At the same time, He rebuked His own for their fear and faint-heartedness and failure to realize that His very presence among them was a power interposed between them and all that could do them real harm. The rebuke was given with compassionate gentleness; but it was meant to drive from them not only their present fear but all fear; for unholy fear, that paralyzes and raises doubts and causes the heart to faint into a belief in its own inevitable "sinking," has no place in a Christian heart.

On the other hand, there is a fear that is Christian, and stimulating. It does not kill hope; for it is itself at the heart of hope, as that which makes hope Christian. I mean, for instance, that fear of death which is stirred in us as we think of the Holy Souls in Purgatory.

They are in the night, and they cannot work. They remind us that a night cometh, when no man can work; and they stimulate us to set our hands strongly to the task given us here and now. They are under the judgment of God, reckoned not yet worthy of His presence. They recall to us therefore that we are sinful, and that our sinfulness, uncombated, could bar us from the presence of God; and they rouse us to stride forward more vigorously into the combat. They are suffering, because death found them with a debt of suffering still unpaid. They remind us therefore of how much we owe for our sins; and they urge us loyally to "offer up" (in the homely phrase) what little sufferings we have put upon us, or can put upon ourselves. They are the victims of all the majesty of our Heavenly Father's love; and they call to us to give Him our undivided hearts.

We think of them in their silent, suffering darkness, over which the stern sanctity of God's Spirit of Love broods with austere tenderness. This is a fearful vision of death; but it thrills us into life—a fuller life, now, for God, wholly.

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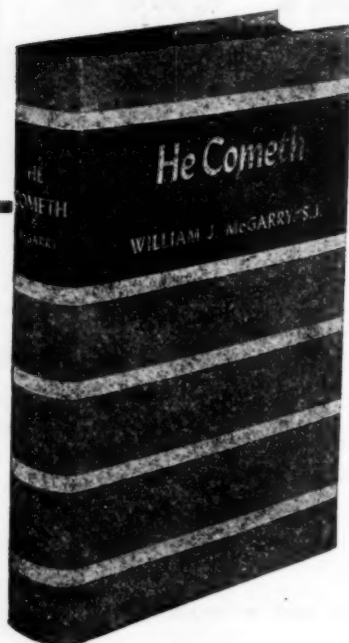
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